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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

ROMANIAN WEEKLY REPORTS ON POLISH PARTY CONGRESS

Bucharest LUMEA in Romanian 23 Jul 81 pp 5, 6

[Article by Ilie Olteanu: "The Conclusion of the Proceedings of the Congress of the Polish United Workers Party"]

[Text] The proceedings of the 9th extraordinary Congress of the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] concluded on 20 July after a week of intense work. The outstanding moments in the forum of the Polish Communists--characterized by comprehensive and open debates--were the elections of the leading organs of the party--the Central Committee (200 members and 70 candidate members), the Central Control Commission of the party, the Central Auditing Commission, the first secretary of the Central Committee of the PZPR and--in the plenum of the new Central Committee--the election of the Politburo (15 members) and the Secretariat (7 members).

As is known from the daily press, the Congress elected Comrade Stanislaw Kania to the position of first secretary of the Central Committee of the PZPR. Expressing his thanks for the high confidence and responsibility placed in him by his election to this position, Stanislaw Kania said that he will work unceasingly for the consolidation of the unity of the entire party, for the strengthening of its leading role in the life of the country, for the development and defense of socialism and for the resolution of the acute problems which confront Poland at the present time.

After the discussions during Sunday night and Monday morning, 20 July, in regard to the draft statute proposed by the statute commission--which carried on its activity throughout the Congress--the delegates adopted this important document. The draft statute was supplemented during the course of the plenum debates with many proposals and observations not only in regard to form but also in regard to content. These proposals--the Polish Press Agency reports--aim at making the statute--the constitution of the party--respond to the general aspirations of the members of the PZPR for the re-establishment of the principles of democracy and of the Leninist norms for the operation of the party. The Congress adopted a resolution which provides that the new statute will be submitted for discussion to a national conference of delegates, after which it will be finalized by the Central Committee of the PZPR. Also, the Congress empowered the Central Committee with drawing up the final version of the statute.

During the same plenary session, H. Kubiak, Politburo member, secretary of the Central Committee, chairman of the Commission for Decisions and Resolutions of the

9th PZPR Congress, proposed that the Congress adopt the following documents: a resolution on the 100th anniversary of the Polish workers movement, a decision on the creation of the Commission to work out the long-range program of the party, the resolution-program and appeal of the Congress to the Polish people. He presented the Commission's views to the Congress, stressing that the drafts of these documents were prepared by the Commission in accordance with the interests of the entire party. They are an appeal for party unity. "We call upon the entire party," H. Kubiak said, "to implement the documents adopted at the Congress." Referring to the documents mentioned, he said that, in their content, they demonstrate fidelity to the principles of Marxism-Leninism and constitute a strong appeal for unity of the parties and peoples of the socialist states.

The principal provisions of the draft resolution dealing with the drawing up of the long range program of the PZPR were presented by Zbigniew Kowalski, professor in the Polytechnical Institute in Gdansk. The draft resolution says, among other things, that the working out of this program is a necessary condition so that the party can resolve the tasks which social development presupposes. The program must formulate the objectives for the building of socialism in Poland and must determine the long range directions for socioeconomic development and for the system of socialist democracy as well as the tasks of the party and the methods of the execution by the party of the leading role in society. By this resolution the 9th extraordinary Congress charges the newly-elected Central Committee with creating, during the coming period, a commission for the elaboration of the long range program of the PZPR. During the preparation of the draft program, the Commission will make use of the conclusions of the party and public discussions which preceded the 9th Congress or which took place during it.

The 9th extraordinary Congress of the PZPR also adopted a resolution-program on "the development of socialist democracy and the strengthening of the leading role of the PZPR in socialist construction and in the socio-economic stabilization of the country." Also, the Congress adopted the appeal of the 9th extraordinary Congress of the PZPR to the Polish people.

At the conclusion of the proceedings of the 9th PZPR Congress Stanislaw Kania, the first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, gave a speech:

The first secretary stressed: "Our party is the leading force of the people and the leading force of the socialist state. This party aims at the stabilization of the situation in Poland and wants to be an active participant in the process of defence and international collaboration.

"The Congress is the result of extensive discussions which have taken place in our party. I believe that these discussions have not concluded with the Congress. By its decisions the Congress has established the most important guidelines for these discussions, it has defined the source of errors and distortions in the past, it has set the responsibility for these errors, it has created conditions so that these errors will become a warning and so that they will cease to burden our activity. Our Congress has created conditions so that we can dedicate ourselves fully and completely to the future, to our tasks, to the functions and duties of our party."

Pointing out that the discussions in the plenum and in groups dealing with problems were characterized, on the whole, by a sense of responsibility for the party and for the fate of the country, and by deep concern for Poland and socialism, Stanislaw Kania stressed: "We have unanimously and unequivocally affirmed the ideological character of the PZPR as a Marxist-Leninist party." "In the future we must be a party of socialist innovation and we must be, at the same time, a party of the struggle against the enemies of socialism, against anarchy, against the menace of the danger of counterrevolution in Poland."

Treating aspects of foreign policy, the first secretary of the Central Committee of the PZPR said: "Our Congress has reaffirmed the durability and stability of our foreign policy, of our obligations as an ally and of our relations of friendship." "We reaffirm," the speaker adds, "our active presence in our entire socialist community, in economic, scientific and cultural collaboration with the CEMA countries. We remain an unflinching link in the Warsaw Pact and in its political and defensive capacity. We will carry on a policy of collaboration with all countries with different social systems in the interest of detente and for the good of peace."

"The Congress," Stanislaw Kania said, "is concluding its work on the eve of the celebration of the Rebirth of Poland--the anniversary of the July Manifesto. Recalling in this connection, the first days of people's Poland, we state, with all clarity, that the implementation of socialist ideals--of the most wonderful ideals which the contemporary history of mankind has generated--depends on the ability of the forces of progress to hold the reins of their state and to exert in the state the power which is necessary for the implementation of these ideals. We must maintain the people's power and the people's state as the most important instrument by which socialism is implemented and developed."

CSO: 2700/320

DEFENSE MEASURES ON INLAND SEA OUTLINED

Defense of Operational Zone

Warsaw PRZEGLAD MORSKI in Polish No 2, Feb 81 pp 3-10

[Article by Capt (Academy Graduate) Ryszard Pluzyczka and Lt Com (Academy Graduate) Zygmunt Urbanski: "Selected Elements for the Defense of an Area of Operations on an Inland Sea"]

[Text] Among the many factors exerting an influence on the organization and conduct of defense operations at sea, the naval art of operations places special significance on the character of the threat from enemy forces and on methods of using naval forces under given conditions. This is of special significance on an inland sea where combat operations of naval forces depend directly on the developing situation on land and are subordinate to the operation plan of the land forces in a given theater of operations. This also applied to the conduct of combat operations to create and maintain a proper operational procedure in a naval area. However, the specific combat operations of forces subordinate to the defense of a naval area of operations, even though they are characterized as defense operations, are conducted in parallel with and independent of other missions to be accomplished by the navy, including missions of an offensive nature, for example, destroying an enemy's naval forces or leading assault landing operations. In such a case, the execution of offensive-type missions aids the forces defending an area of operations. Undoubtedly, the indicated specifics exert a definite effect on organizing the defense of an area of operations and, at the same time, on expanding the scope of the missions of the naval forces to be accomplished jointly in the internal and combined systems. Within the framework of defending an area of operations, the navy's missions are to:

- conduct a systematic reconnaissance of the area of operations to detect, identify and track hidden targets and to transmit this target information to friendly forces and forces acting in coordination;
- collaborate with coastal large units of air defense forces in the antiaircraft defense of basing areas and ships operating at sea;
- conduct antisubmarine warfare, antiship (antimissile) defense, antimine defense and antiunconventional warfare;

- collaborate with land forces in antilanding defense;
- assure the safety of shipping, the deployment of forces to staging areas and, during training, the safety of ships in training areas;
- place defensive mine barriers;
- organize and secure the safety of basing for ships and troophips in accordance with the requirements for defense against weapons of mass destruction.

The above missions can be accomplished equally in peacetime and wartime primarily within the framework of the navy's systematic combat operation. Missions accomplished at sea in peacetime are known as performances of combat service. In principle, these missions are performed by appropriate large tactical units which are charged with a specific zone of responsibility together with the military objects within their boundaries including ports, primary and maneuvering points for basing naval forces and the areas for their dispersal, shipyards, repair yards, workshops and materiel depots. The primary role of these units is to organize and realize all kinds of defenses for the ships and facilities located in their zones of responsibility, and to provide, among other things, logistical, medical, chemical, navigational-hydrographical and rescue-salvage support.

The system for the naval defense of an area of operations and, correspondingly, the zones of responsibility for the designated large tactical units is composed of the following elements: antiaircraft defense (OPL), antisubmarine warfare (OPOP), antiship (antimissile defense) (OPKT), antimine defense (OPM), antiunconventional warfare (OPDyw), and defense against weapons of mass destruction (OPBMAR).

Antiaircraft defense of naval forces and objects (basing area) is accomplished by shore antiaircraft defense units and ship antiaircraft defense units. They act in coordination with seaborne large tactical units and units of air defense forces. The main effort in antiaircraft defense is directed toward protecting military and civilian objects on the coast, especially against air attacks, and military and commercial ships in basing areas against reconnoitering. This requires constant reconnaissance of an enemy's forces and air assault equipment, promptly informing ships and floating units of the danger, organizing self-defense, combining the fire power of shore units and stationed ships with the fire power of air defense forces, and coordinating ship and shore antiaircraft artillery action with fighter aircraft action. It also encompasses anticipating the concealment of shore object and basing sites for ships in its zone (region) and the discipline of complying with imposed orders, prohibitions and limitations.

The goal of antisubmarine warfare is to prevent the deployment of an enemy's submarines within the navy's area of operations, making it impossible for them to debark unconventional forces and to observe and mine waterways, training areas and dispersal stations for ships and troophips, destroying them with rocket-propelled torpedos and torpedos; and to assure the safety of basing and shipping and the execution of tasks at sea by friendly and allied forces based in the zone. It should encompass the entire operational zone, taking into consideration

The most probable axes and areas of operations as well as the tactics of enemy submarines and underwater unconventional forces. This is warfare that is accomplished at sea independently with the aid of ships and helicopters as well as with stationary and mobile technical systems specifically designated for this purpose. The basis of the system to observe and detect submarines is stationary radiotechnical and hydroacoustic equipment; however, mobile antisubmarine warfare forces supplement the above system or are used on a continuous basis where it is impossible to use stationary equipment. The submarine observation system of one fleet should be an element of an analogous combined system in the theater of operations and be linked with reconnaissance, concealment and radioelectronic warfare systems and other undertakings in a given region.

Antiship (antimissile) defense is organized to assure the safety of the basing and sailing of friendly ships (troopships, commercial ships) against unexpected attacks by cutters or small surface ships armed with rockets and torpedoes; to make it impossible for them to shell shore objects, to group land forces assigned near the seashore, to place mines, and to debark unconventional forces. Shore tube and rocket artillery, naval artillery, antiaircraft tube and rocket artillery and, under appropriate conditions, close-support fighter aircraft are used to realize OPKT. Although it is still applied, the antiship defense concept does not serve its needs because the main threat to naval forces is rockets and, in association with this, actions executed within the framework of this defense speak in favor of a new antiship defense concept.

The goal of antimine defense is to assure the safe sailing of submarines, troopships and commercial ships in the entire zone and in those sea areas where the enemy will try to create a mine threat. OPM encompasses the waterways and anchorages system, searching for and destroying mines and organizing ship movement (basing) procedures over designated waterways for ships and troopships, excluding enemy minelayers (ships, aircraft and helicopters) in regions that are vital to shipping and tracking their routes and the fact that they are mining and the location of the mines.

Passive antimine defense operations are one of the important OPM elements directly associated with reducing the probability of ships and troopships being blown up by mines, including using specified speeds, demagnetization, reducing noises and escorting ships through danger zones by having the ships behind minesweeping equipment. Hidden mine barriers are destroyed only when they represent a serious threat to shipping and, in a basic way, hamper freedom of military operations. In special cases, when time does not allow for minesweeping or mine parameters are not known, essential passages (for example, for alert departures from a port or roadstead) are cleared by exploding the mines.

OPM should be a system and be linked with other types of defenses, especially with antisubmarine warfare, antiaircraft defense and antiship (antimissile) defense.

Antiunconventional warfare is divided into antiunconventional warfare on land and underwater unconventional warfare. The responsible land commander organizes antiunconventional warfare on land in coordination with naval forces and territorial defense forces. The aim of defense against underwater unconventional warfare is to preclude operations of underwater unconventional groups against naval craft,

ships in ports and on the roadsteads, against fixed shipyard and port facilities, and against hydroengineering structures. In principle it encompasses two basic operations, namely, detecting and combating carriers of underwater unconventional warfare forces and equipment. Detection is accomplished by our own observation organization via all ships at sea, observation points on shore, and additional observers stationed at entrances to ports, at basing points, on ships and troopships. Combating underwater unconventional warfare forces is based on seeking out and destroying submarines by naval hunter-killer groups, patrolling designated sectors of the coast, physically protecting vital port facilities, closing entrances to ports with the aid of signaling networks, and concealing ships and shore facilities.

Naval units combat enemy unconventional groups at basing sites and in regions designated by the commander for the defense against antiunconventional warfare. In the defense against antiunconventional warfare on land, naval forces operate within the framework of the country's territorial defense system.

It should be emphasized that defense against antiunconventional warfare is a relatively new type defense operation and thus is in the organizational stage in many fleets.

The goal of defense against weapons of mass destruction is to protect ships, personnel and shore facilities against attack by nuclear weapons, and chemical and biological agents, and to diminish as much as possible the effects of their use, and at the same time assure the combat effectiveness of friendly forces and resources. Because many naval shore facilities directly border facilities of land armies and of the territorial and functional system, the efforts of all interested parties should be coordinated to realize OPBMAR.

In principle, tactical large units realize OPBMAR for naval forces and equipment in their zones of responsibility. Appropriate shore port subunits in coordination with civil territorial defense units organize this defense at basing sites. In principle, naval land units and subunits organize OPBMAR independently at their basing sites.

To help ship crews and shore subunits eliminate the effects of weapons of mass destruction in specific tactical units for the defense of the coast, special reserves should be provided which should include, among others, chemical, engineering, medical and rescue subunits.

The effective defense of an area of operations on an inland sea should assure favorable conditions for basing and sailing ships, extricating them from under attack, regrouping, regenerating as efficiently as possible combat readiness of the forces, and efficient coordination with land forces in realizing the widely comprehended defense of the coast.

Defending an area of operations on an inland sea is a complex task requiring the coordination of various forces in a given naval theater of operations [MTDW] in which defending the country's air space and land forces represents one of the more important links in the defense system of the country's territory.

The widely comprehended defense of the coast, encompassing marine bases and naval shore facilities, commercial ports, urban centers, shipyards and other facilities of the national economy located on the coast is a complex task exceeding the navy's capabilities. Thus, in accordance with the views of the naval art of operations, the navy is responsible for defense operations executed at sea, on land it is the relevant commander of the land forces, and in the air it is the commander of the assigned fighter (fighter-attack) air forces. Thus the defense of a coast is an undertaking conceived on an extensive scale and encompasses coastal sea areas, sea coasts and the air spaces over these areas. In this situation, the navy can assure independent realization of only some of these defense elements, above all those associated with sea activity. To realize the remaining defense elements, the navy will participate with the partners mentioned earlier on the basis of close collaboration.

Based on the assumption that each naval action at sea is a direct or indirect action to defend the coast, then its model finds expression in the defense of a naval area of operations and in principle leads to the antilanding defense of the sea-coast which can include, among other things, the following:

- assigning appropriate naval forces and resources to combat the assault-landing force on the sea and extend constructed barriers in the water and on the beach;
- organizing a reconnaissance system, assuring both land and naval forces prompt deployment of forces assigned to antilanding defense;
- participating in combating the enemy's air and sea reconnaissance;
- creating a uniform system for continuous air and water observations;
- collaborating in organizing a uniform firing system at the approaches to a defended coast;
- setting up defensive mine barriers and antilanding barriers in the water and on the shore in the most threatened sectors of the coast.

In principle, the combined-arms commander is responsible for antilanding defense on land, but the navy is responsible for destroying assault-landing forces and equipment during the formation of assault-landing forces, during their sea voyage and at the place of their landing. When the land forces are fighting the assault-landing forces on land, the navy supports the land forces, disallowing the supply or evacuation by sea of the enemy forces.

The proper organization of reconnaissance, observation and transmission of information is a basic and at the same time a common element for all types of defense, assuring the proper functioning of the defense of the navy's area of operations. Above all, fixed and mobile technical observation equipment, located on land and in the coastal zone, are used to observe and track the enemy. The gathering and analysis of information flowing from various sources give, within limits, a complete picture of the situation in the naval theater of war operations, and the increasingly more extensive use of electronic computer equipment permits faster processing of the information and its delivery to interested individuals and elements of command.

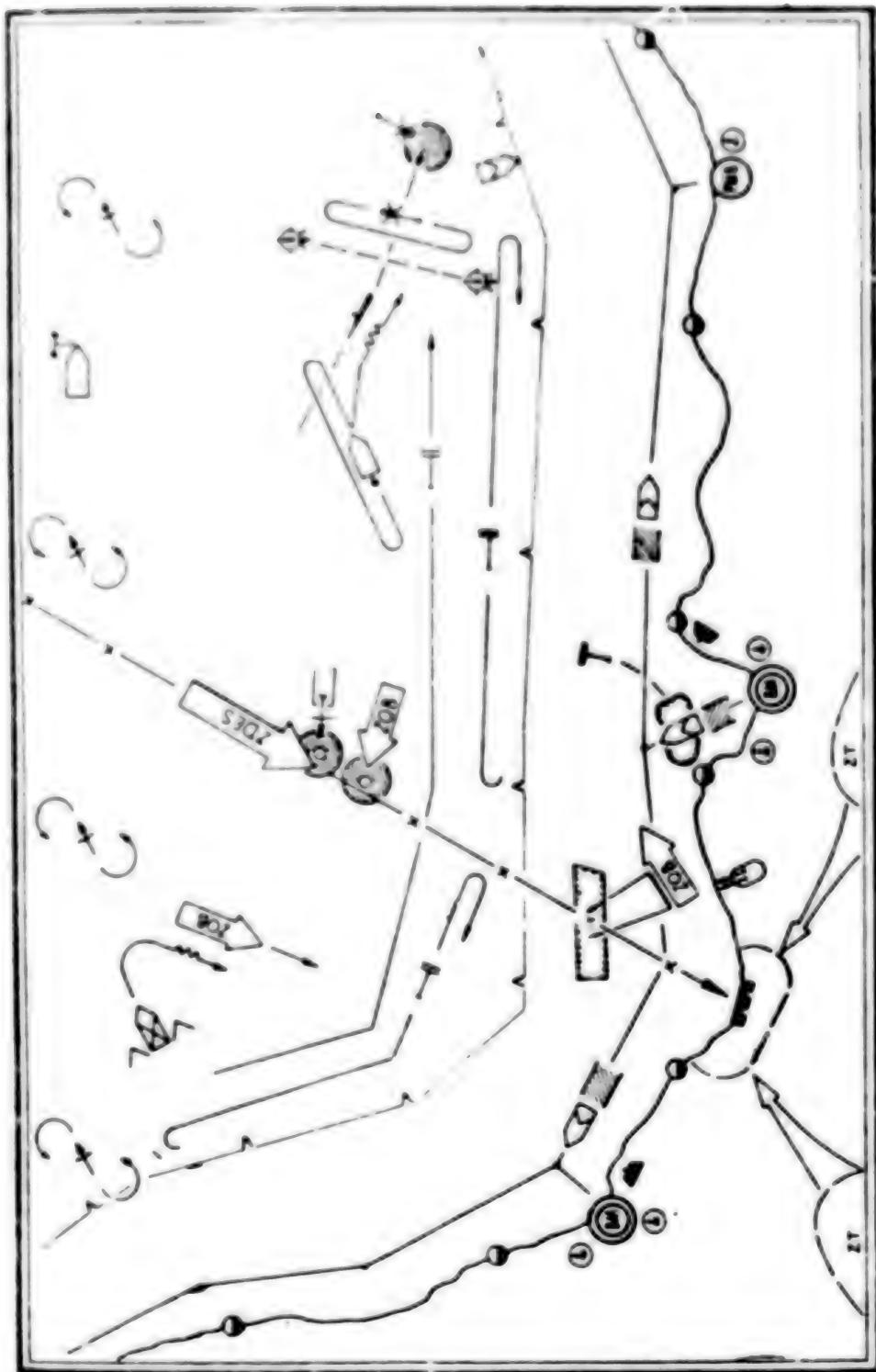


Figure 1. The Organization of the Defense of a Naval Area of Operation (variant 1)

Key:

- naval base
- assault landing group
- defense groups
- naval basing point
- tactical large unit

in the most threatened axes of operation of the enemy's forces, short- and long-range patrols frequently are posted; their task is to extend the scope of observations of coastal technical equipment, to identify hidden ships, report them and keep track of them and, if need be, guide friendly strike forces or patrol support to them.

Patrol service is understood to mean the operation of ships at sea or aircraft in the air to conduct continuous observations to thwart a surprise attack or an undetected incursion of enemy ships, submarines or aircraft into regions controlled by friendly forces. The navy's air force, ships and submarines perform the patrol service, but the shore rocket artillery can be engaged to support the patrols. The exact composition of the forces performing patrol service depends on the patrol assignments, the distance separating the patrols from naval basing points and on hydrometeorological conditions. Depending on the basic assignment, the patrols are divided into antisubmarine patrols, and air and water surface observation patrols and, depending on its position relative to the hidden object, into short- and long-range patrols. Each one of the patrols represents an element of a relevant type of defense. For example, an antisubmarine patrol is a vital element of defense against these vessels, and an air observation patrol is a vital element of antiaircraft defense.

The mission of a long-range patrol is to detect enemy forces within the specified sea and air boundaries and to report promptly their discovery. As a rule, long-range patrol service is performed with submarines and aircraft and, less often, by ships, in which case the ships are equipped with long-range technical observation equipment.

The mission of a short-range patrol is to thwart a surprise attack by enemy ships, submarines and aircraft on friendly ships stationed at basing points and on steeds and on specific and important shore facilities, by destroying these enemy forces in collaboration with patrol support forces. Short-range patrol service is usually performed with ships and aircraft and, in certain circumstances, with submarines.

Patrol service at sea is performed in peacetime. It also is an element of operational service.

Operational service represents the entirety of operations and actions conducted by the navy in a MIDW during peacetime. The above actions are conducted according to a specified plan to create suitable conditions while executing tasks at the moment war starts. This service is a fundamental type of naval operational action during peacetime, ensuring the maintenance of high readiness of search-assault and assault forces to perform tasks during the initial stage of a war. It also is performed equally both in the constant and higher states of combat readiness. In association with this, the number and types of forces in its composition increase depending on the stringency of the international situation and the increased threat from a potential enemy.

Combat service is an important link in the defense of an operational area and promotes the realization of its specific elements. The effectiveness of a defense

of an area depends on the interrelationships of specific links, including those which are realized independently by the navy as well as those realized jointly with other types of armed services.

Defense Against Mines

Wroclaw PRZEGLAD MORSKI in Polish No 5, May 81 pp 3-8

[Article by CDR Wladyslaw Grzadkowski: "Antimine Defense on an Inland Sea"]

[Text] The development of technical ideas after World War II lent itself to important qualitative changes in mine armaments, which meant that antimine defense would be one of the more important problems in future wars at sea.

The geographical characteristics of inland seas (including the Baltic Sea) and the intensive preparations of maritime countries in the use of sea mines indicate that most naval combat operations will occur under conditions of active mine warfare. There also is no doubt that at the moment war actions begin the intent of the enemy will be to create a mine threat in order to block ports by setting up offensive mine barriers and individual mines in ports, on roadsteads and transport-service lines. It is expected that mining will intensify if preparations for assault-landing operations are uncovered.

Above all, aircraft and submarines will be used to place offensive mine barriers, but the use of small, fast boats is not excluded. Ports and their approaches can be mined primarily by aircraft, which can place mines day and night at low altitudes while simultaneously attacking defense forces and equipment. Small and average bottom mines weighing 250-500 kg can be used to mine regions of up to 40 m deep.

To assure the safety of basing ships and protect transport-service lines, it is essential that the navy have proper defense forces and equipment, including anti-mine defenses.

To track the enemy's mine-barrier activities, to obtain data on the regions currently being threatened, to conduct systematic mine reconnaissance and to destroy hidden mines, the navy should have a well-organized observation system, the basic operation of antimine defense. It should be based on resources to observe and detect mines regardless of their type or principles of operation of the detonators. Detecting mines at the time they are placed, designating their location and then establishing bypass routes for threatened regions or destroying mine barriers in specified regions will reduce the risk of a ship blowup.

The naval forces should have shore radar stations (mobile or stationary) and ship radar stations for antimine observations to assure the detection and tracking of mine carriers, to note the moment mines are dropped from aircraft, their flight and descent into the water. These stations should have a large probability of detecting the placement of mines and high range and bearing resolutions. A decision to take further antimine defense measures should be made on the basis of an analysis of data on the detection and location of mines.

The detection and destruction or lifting and disarmament of unidentified mines can occur with the help of frogmen-sappers. However, a properly equipped station should be used to determine the parameters of the detonators. After the parameters of the detonators have been determined and a minesweeping system has been selected, by using contact and noncontact trawls a mine threat can be removed from the waters and planned ship (boat) sailing routes for which it was ascertained that mines were placed and a bypass route could not be designated. As a means of reconnoitering and destroying moored mines, contact trawls are highly reliable. They can be used for group minesweeping at relatively high speeds. Improvements in contact trawls should be aimed toward reducing their weight, increasing their versatility, making it possible for them to sweep mines attached to mooring cables regardless of design and material of construction and using them with different types of minesweepers.

Because of the variety and new designs of modern detonators for noncontact mines, most noncontact trawls are not very effective (low certainty of operation and low daily capacity) even with a properly selected minesweeping system. The trawls are towed behind a ship which is subject to being blown up. Existing noncontact trawls can be used to sweep magnetic and acoustic mines. However, existing noncontact detonators have devices that can discern the difference between the physical poles of trawls and the physical poles of ships. Mines armed with noncontact detonators require the simultaneous action of the proper combination of physical poles. Existing trawls cannot be used to sweep hydrodynamic mines. This means that antimine defense forces should have in their maneuvering depots minesweepers with trawls, frogmen-sapper groups, antimine ships that search for and destroy mines at an appropriate distance ahead of their bows, and special or adapted ships (boats) capable of demolishing mine barriers. Despite the disadvantages of modern trawls, they will not be excluded entirely from minesweeper armaments because many new designs are being developed and tested. Trawls will also remain on units equipped with new means of detecting and destroying mines.

However, it is believed that in the future existing trawls will not be a basic means of detecting and eliminating a mine threat. Because their development cannot keep up with developments in noncontact detonators, new methods and equipment to combat the mine threat are being sought as a matter of necessity. The goal is to detect and destroy mines ahead of the bows of the search ships (on course) independent of noncontact detonator type and principles of operation. This is expected to produce highly effective results.

Modern antimine combat in a search-localization-and-destroy system should be based primarily on detecting and localizing mines forward of a ship's bow with the aid of an echo-ranging station; on searching for, disarming or destroying mines by frogmen-sappers; on destroying hidden and localized mines with the aid of explosives; on reconnoitering and destroying mines using trawls; and on verifying regions and destroying mines with the aid of mine-barrier demolishers.

In many navies, helicopters are used to tow contact and noncontact trawls. The possibility of using air-cushion vehicles and hydrofoils for this purpose, which will require the building of new "fast" trawls, is also being investigated. The use of helicopters [not only] assures rapid access to the area of action and high

capacity, but mine blowups will not endanger the helicopters doing the towing. Helicopters can perform an important role in ensuring a high tempo of combat action, especially during the passage of groups of ships on the sea and in an assault-landing operation during the landing stage. In addition, they are more economical to use than ships. When designing new antimine defense units (and other ships) attention should be paid to decreasing to a minimum their physical fields. This is an important element in passive antimine defense. The physical poles of ships should be systematically measured and compensated as required.

The Mission of Antimine Defense Forces

As one of the ways to protect naval combat operations, the goal of antimine defense is to assure complete freedom of ship movements and continuity of functioning of sea transport. Appropriate to this goal, the main effort of antimine defense forces should be concentrated on:

- preventing or impeding the enemy from establishing mine barriers;
- detecting and localizing placed mines;
- destroying mines or designating mine-barrier boundaries.

In association with the above, it is essential that antimine forces realize on a continuous basis the following tasks:

- conduct continuous reconnoitering and detection of mine armament carriers and combat them with the aid of air and naval forces;
- conduct continuous antimine observations in a specified sea area and inform friendly forces about hidden carriers and facts concerning mine placements;
- establish safe sailing rules for ships and boats;
- systematically check the physical poles of ships and boats;
- seek out mines and escort ships and boats behind minesweepers;
- eliminate the effects of ships blown up by mines.

The considerations thus far show that antimine defense can encompass two integral- ly related elements, that is, reconnaissance and destruction.

As mentioned already, the most effective antimine defense is to combat mine armament carriers and prevent them from mining. Aircraft and fast surface ships can be used for this purpose. However, this is not always possible; therefore, to reduce the risk of ships being blown up by mines and to eliminate needless reconnoitering of mines in sea areas where no mines were placed, it is necessary to establish the fact that mines were placed and the exact location of mine barriers, and thus they can be destroyed or bypass routes can be designated.

Another mine reconnaissance method is reconnaissance searching of mines to detect bottom and moored mines. This is done with the aid of contact and noncontact

trawls and echo-ranging stations in specified sea areas. With respect to time it can be done on a systematic or check basis, and with respect to method of execution, it can be done by minesweeping or searching.

After antimine defense forces detect and locate mines, the next step is to neutralize them. Hidden mines are destroyed in those regions where they represent a direct threat to friendly shipping (the sailing of ships and boats). The complete elimination of mine barriers is postponed till after the war.

A mine threat is eliminated with the use of contact and noncontact trawls and explosives. In certain cases mines may be disarmed to determine their characteristics and to establish proper actions and means to eliminate the mine threat. Special, properly equipped frogmen-sapper groups reconnoiter, disarm and extricate mines.

The destruction of mine barriers using contact and noncontact trawls is a very time-consuming undertaking and requires the engagement of significant forces. Modern mines can be armed with detonators having time delays up to 120 days and a multiplication range of up to 24 safe passes of ships.

In assuring the safety of ocean transport, antimine defense is of prime consideration. With regard to the need to organize convoys, ocean transport requires special antimine protection. In the framework of this protection, the following should be organized:

- technical and visual observations to detect moored and drifting mines;
- mine reconnaissance and the escorting of convoys behind mine sweepers;
- the designation of bypass routes for hidden mine barriers or their destruction (when a bypass route is not possible);
- the destruction of hidden and swept up mines;
- actions to decrease the risk of ships and troraphips being blown up by mines (decrease physical fields, select safe speeds and the like).

In establishing the composition and grouping of a convoy, among other things, mine reconnoitering (distant antimine protection) and close antimine protection should be anticipated in order to detect mine barriers (mines) on a convoy's route, and if necessary to designate bypass routes around them or destroy them. In case of mine-barrier destructions, paths swept free of mines should be marked with the aid of trawl spar-buoys.

Mine barriers are destroyed when:

- designating bypass routes is not possible (for various reasons);
- the mine barrier is a lesser threat to the convoy than other types of threats;
- the convoy's arrival time at a specified place must be maintained;

--sufficient antimine defense forces and equipment are available to ensure the proper safety of the convoy.

An Evaluation of the Combat Effectiveness of Antimine Defense Forces and Equipment

The combat effectiveness of antimine forces and equipment depends on many factors, including type of combat mission, the mine situation in the threatened region, the tactical-technical particulars of the antimine defense forces and equipment, the geographic-geophysical and hydrometeorological conditions in the area in which tasks must be accomplished, the navigational-hydrographical and material-technical means for protecting antimine forces, and the means and methods of using antimine defense forces and equipment.

Because the effects of the above-mentioned factors on combat effectiveness varies, a comparative analysis can be incomplete. Difficulty also exists in the use of proper conversion factors, for example, comparing trawl groups with minesweepers, with frogmen-sappers equipped with explosives. Nonetheless, based on current professional literature a comparative analysis of the basic factors of combat effectiveness for antimine forces and equipment was executed. It shows that explosives and frogmen-sappers are the most effective means of destroying modern mines (their probability of executing the task is between 70-100 percent). Contact trawls also have a high probability of realizing antimine defense tasks (90-100 percent), but noncontact trawls have only a 20-30 percent probability of reducing the level of the mine threat.

The time it takes to realize a given task is another important indicator of the effectiveness of antimine resources. In comparing time needed to execute antimine defense tasks by various forces, the antimine defense resources used by them can be presented in the following orders:

1. For mine reconnoitering: ship echo-ranging stations, frogmen-sappers and trawl armaments.
2. In eliminating a mine threat: frogmen-sappers, trawl armaments and explosives.

Thus, in comparing the basic indexes of combat effectiveness of antimine defense forces and equipment, we conclude that the most effective means of combating a mine threat is frogmen-sapper groups.

The effectiveness of using antimine defense forces and equipment is to a certain extent dependent on the geographical-physical and hydrometeorological conditions of the area of operations, above all, water depth. Also, an analysis of such factors as air and water temperatures, visibility, state of the sea, differences in the propagation of sound in water, salinity, freezing and the like show that they significantly limit or even preclude the use of some types of forces and equipment to combat a mine threat (for example, noncontact trawls). On an annual scale, the differences in changes in the above-mentioned factors can be 50-60 percent (on an inland sea).

11899
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ROMANIA

PEOPLE'S WELL-BEING DECLARED HIGHEST GOAL OF PARTY POLICY

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 9, 5 May 81 pp 22-26

[Article by Ilie Salapa, director general of the Central Directorate for Statistics: "The Well-Being of the People - the Supreme Goal of the Policy of the Romanian Communist Party"]

[Text] In all six decades of its existence, our party has directly militated for a free, powerful and prosperous Romania and for a constantly better life for the workers. These great goals have been addressed only during the years of socialism, which has meant an uninterrupted string of successes in increasing the standard of living for all our people. The Romanian Communist Party has placed in the center of its policies the multilateral development of the country's economy, the only base that can systematically raise the well-being of the people. As is pointed out in the Party's Program, "the general policy of the party and the building of a multilaterally developed socialist society have as their supreme goal the continuing improvement of the material and spiritual well-being of all our people and the increase in the level of civilization of the affairs of the entire society. Subordinate to this goal are all the efforts to develop the national economy at an intense rate and to increase national income." The standard of living is, in fact, a broad, encompassing notion that refers to a multitude of aspects of the people's life and daily activities. In dealing with the problem of the standard of living, it is necessary, therefore, for us to refer to a group of aspects regarding the manner of living and the quality of life.

Economic Growth and the Dynamics of the People's Income

We have become used to, and it is not incorrect, to evaluate in the most general way the growth of the standard of living through the dynamics or changes in the people's real income. Real income in fact expresses the dimensions of the opportunities that the people have to satisfy their material, spiritual, rest and recreational needs. Comparing 1980 with 1950, for example, shows that the total real income of the people, calculated as an average per inhabitant, increased by 4.7 times. We can say, therefore, that the inhabitants of our country today have opportunities nearly five times greater to procure their material goods and to give the comfort of their daily life.

Clearly, this figure, on one hand, summarizes, while, on the other hand, greatly abstracts the notion of the standard of living, and does not offer the opportunity to express all the sometimes necessary facets of the workers' standard of living. The state's investments in housing construction, for equipping municipal-administrative facilities in towns or for all social actions are not included in the indicator real income.

It is an inherent law of social development that the changes in the people's incomes can have no other support except economic development and the labor of all the people to create material and spiritual goods that form the basis to satisfy the living requirements of the people. To the degree that our national economy has developed, an ever greater number of jobs have been created and, along with this, increased opportunities for the people to increase their incomes. In the 30 years of planned economy, 5.2 million jobs were created, of which 3 million have been created in the last three five year plans. Similarly, it should not be omitted that in parallel with the development and modernization of the economy there was an increase in labor productivity, which served as a basis, through a close correlation, for an increase in salaries and incomes for the peasantry.

Table No 1

	Ritmurile medii anuale de crestere (%) (1)		
	1951—1960	1961—1970	1971—1980
Venitul național (2)	10.4	8.4	9.2
Productivitatea muncii pe o persoană (3)			
— in industrie (4)	9.0	7.5	6.6
— in construcții-montaj în întreprinderi (5)	7.2	5.5	7.8
— in transportul feroviar (6)	3.6	6.0	3.7
— in agricultură (7)	5.3	4.8	10.0
Veniturile reale totale ale populației (8)	6.2	6.0	7.0
Veniturile reale calculate pe un locuitor (9)	4.9	5.0	6.0

Key:

1. Average Annual Rates of Growth	6. In Rail Transportation
2. National Income	7. In Agriculture
3. Labor Productivity Per Person	8. Total Real Income of the People
4. In Industry	9. Real Income Calculated Per Inhabitant
5. In Contracted Construction-Assembly	

The data in Table No 1 demonstrate the indissoluble connection that exists between the growth of material production and labor productivity, on one hand, and the opportunities that are created through them for a high dynamics in the people's incomes. The figures, expressed in percentages, show how conditions were created, to the degree of economic consolidation, so that during the 1971-1980 decade, and especially during the 1976-1980 five year plan, the highest degree of dynamism in the people's incomes was achieved. The absolute figures, however, are even more graphic. If we take as an example the average net monthly salary, we note that just the increase of 643 lei during the last five year plan (from 1,595 lei monthly in 1975 to 2,238 lei in 1980) is equal to four-fifths of the average monthly salary in 1960 (802 lei).

The changes in incomes must, certainly, be examined always in correlation with prices. As is known, the pricing policy promoted by the Romanian Communist Party is a policy of rigorous control over the level of prices. Changes in prices are planned in accordance with growth in the people's incomes in order to permanently ensure an increase in the workers' buying power. The controlled evolution of prices, within the limits of the plan and in correlation with the growth of nominal incomes precludes oscillations and offers security to the workers that their incomes have a solid base.

Placed under the rigorous control of the state, the changes in prices have had a reduced impact on the buying power of the people's incomes. Over the entire period of the three decades of socialist construction, a decisive factor was the growth of the nominal incomes of the workers. Here I would like to express an opinion regarding a situation that sometimes gives rise to certain puzzlement and comments. As is known, over time there has been and will be a need for some prices to be increased in order to ensure the production of all goods and services on economic bases, on profitable bases. And, nonetheless, even under the conditions where price increases have occurred (in most cases by one to two percent per year), it has been estimated that the buying power of the national currency has increased. It could be said that this evaluation is incorrect because, in relationship to the prices, the same unit of money corresponds less to the goods. But, this is an interpretation of a financial nature only. Looking at things in a broader sense, we can say on firm grounds that the currency becomes stronger since, along with increasing the volume of goods, the variety of the goods is expanded and their quality is improved, while the citizens get greater opportunities to select the necessary products.

The Evolution and Structure of the Consumption of Goods and Services

A fuller conclusion with regards to the level and evolution of the life of the people is provided by the analysis of consumption, especially of trends that occur in the use of food and non-food goods and services.

In Table No 2, one can note the manner in which the population's consumption has evolved per inhabitant for the principal food products.

Table No 1

	U.M. (1)	1950	1965	1980 (date preliminare) (2)
— Carne și produse din carne (3)	kg	16,7	26,6	62
— Lapte și produse din lapte (exclusiv untul) (4)	l	107,6	105,0	180
— Zahăr și produse din zahăr (5)	kg	6,9	15,0	28
— Cereale (In echivalent făină) (6)	kg	130,5	208,0	183
— Legume și produse din legume (7)	kg	65,6	75,3	140
— Fructe și produse din fructe (8)	kg	20,7	26,7	40
— Ouă (9)	buc.(10)	39	115	270

Key:

1. Unit of Measure	8. Fruits and Fruit Products
2. Preliminary Data	9. Eggs
3. Meat and Meat Products	10. Each
4. Milk and Milk Products (Excluding Butter)	
5. Sugar and Sugar Products	
6. Grains (Flour Equivalent)	
7. Vegetables and Vegetable Products	

The consumption of food products has clearly increased for the majority of the products, with the largest increases being recorded for those with a higher animal-origin protein content and more mineral salts and vitamins (meats, milk, eggs, vegetables and fruits), concomitantly with the gradual reduction in the consumption of products that contain carbohydrates (corn flour, potatos, bread). In this manner, the per inhabitant consumption in our country has noticeably approached, as noted in numerous specialized articles, a diet at the level of scientific standards. The consumption of non-food products has also recorded substantial growth and significant structural changes, brought about especially by providing a rational wardrobe at the level of optimum requirements, by improving supplies of durable goods, household goods and cultural goods. Significant increases have been recorded in services, while in the structure of using these services sensible dealings have intervened. Services have been developed and diversified with regards to increasing the comforts at home, making household work easier, repairing and maintaining homes and using free time.

It is known that any family first of all directs its incomes toward procuring the necessary goods and services, with top priority among these being given to food products, clothing, footwear and those expenses dealing with housing. As incomes are increased and the need for food is generally satisfied, the people spend an ever more significant portion of their incomes for non-food goods, for goods that increase household comfort and for services that satisfy cultural, rest

and recreational needs. In 1955, for example, the average expenditures for food in a family of workers represented 54 percent of the family's budget, while in 1980 the percentage of these expenditures had decreased to 40.7 percent. In exchange, there was a noticeable increase in the percentage of expenditures for non-food products and payments for services.

As can be seen in Chart No 1, the expenditures for goods and services by a workers family was in 1980 3.3 times greater than in 1955 [Chart No 1 follows on next page]. And, during this period there was not only a quantitative increase, but especially qualitative changes in consumer spending.

In recent years, we have been taking part in what we can call an intensive increase in the standard of living. With regards to this, two phenomena are worth noting. First, as is known, the diet in our country provides, and has provided for a long time, a high number of calories (over 3,000 calories on the average per day per person), placing us among the countries with a high level of caloric consumption. Diet specialists considered it to be sufficient from a physiological point of view under average conditions and activities in our country. Precisely for that reason, as a major trend it is not the total quantity of the products consumed that is changing, but the structure of the food consumption.

Not just a few specialists feel that a rational level of consumption is one with a more reduced level of calories, one having, certainly, an appropriate structure.

Here I can give an example that is maximally simplified to be more clear. The consumption of a kilogram of grain provides approximately 3,000 calories, while a kilogram of meat provides 2,100 calories, but it has in its content a series of substances that are not in the grain. If we were to take just these two products and combine them in different proportions, we would obtain at least 3,000 calories, but it will be a superior diet by structure.

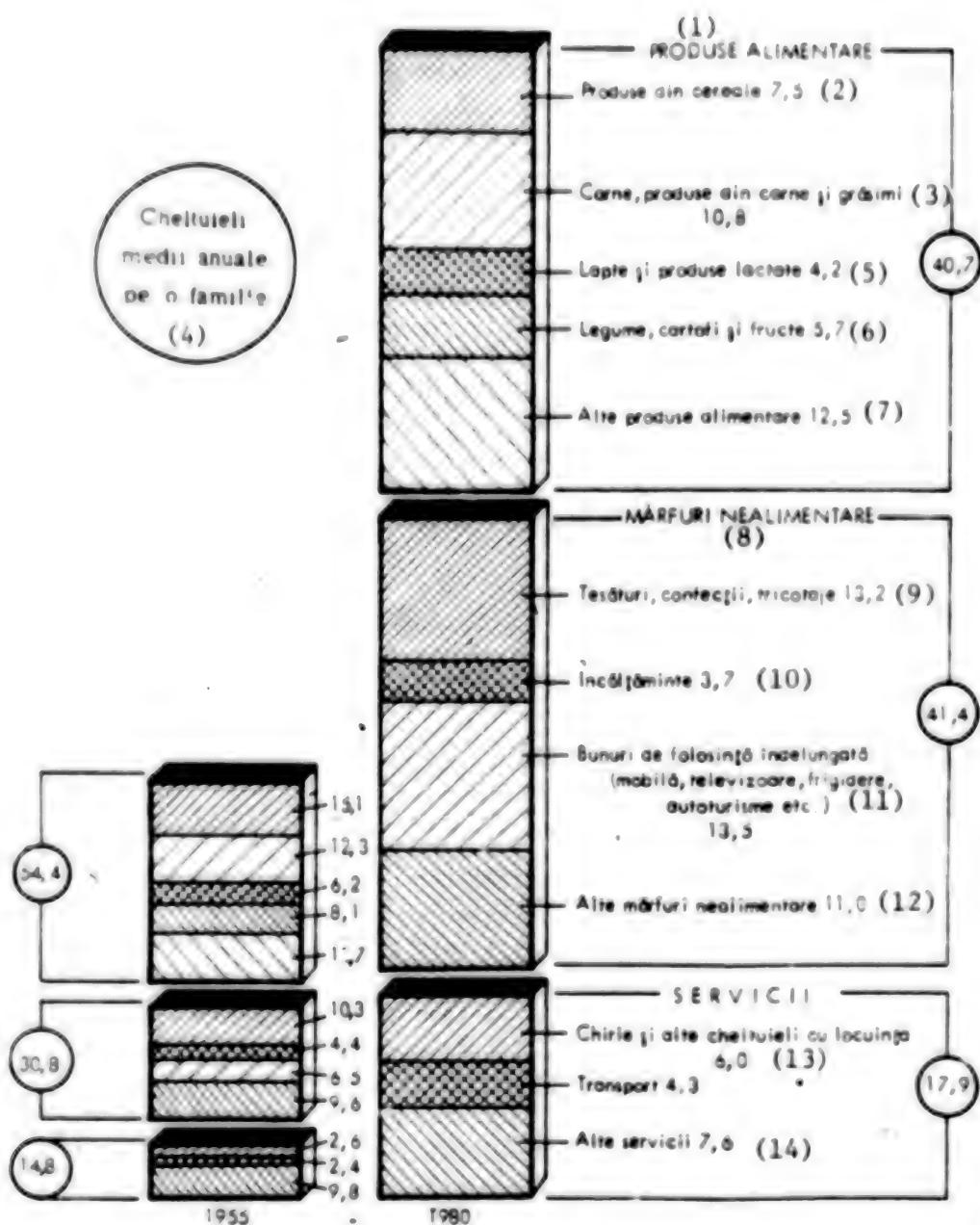
In support of the above statement, I would like to present the conclusions of certain studies completed in other countries or by international organizations. Thus, for example, a special mixed committee of FAO/OMS experts carried out a study regarding the physiological energy and protein requirements, a study used by UN specialists to calculate for nearly all the countries of the world the average necessary per person consumption. For Romania, this consumption level is estimated at 2,650 calories.* In a special work published by the FAO, the rational necessary consumption of calories, certainly an average, varies according to age and sex from 820 calories to 3,070 calories.**

* United Nations, "Compendium of Social Statistics, New York, 1980, p 260.

** "Handbook on Human Nutritional Requirements," Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, Rome, 1974, p 66.

Chart No. 1

The Structure of Monetary Expenditures for Buying Goods and Using Services
(Worker Families; in percent)



Monetary expenditures to buy goods and use services for worker families increased by 3.3 times in 1980 compared to 1955.

[Key follows on next page]

Key:

1. Food Products
2. Grain products
3. Meat, Meat Products and Fats
4. Average Annual Expenditures per family
5. Milk and Milk Products
6. Vegetables, Potatos and Fruits
7. Other Food Products
8. Non-Food Products
9. Cloth, Ready-made Clothing, Knitwear
10. Footwear
11. Durable Goods (Furniture, Televisions, Refrigerators, Cars and so forth)
12. Other Non-Food Products
13. Rents and Other Housing Costs
14. Other Services

It is understood that food requirements cannot be measured by the number of calories alone. Calories represent a support to ensure health, vigor and the ability to work. The diet depends, however, on other factors, traditions and tastes so that nearly every individual desires another combination of products. Similarly, regarding the consumption of food in a structural relationship, we note that for some products we expect a continuing increase in the population's demands in the future. Precisely taking into consideration these trends, the Program of Increasing the Standard of Living approved by the 12th Party Congress calls for greater increases for some products with superior qualities. This will allow in the near future for the food consumption in our country to be placed among the top countries in the world not only from a quantitative point of view but also from a qualitative one.

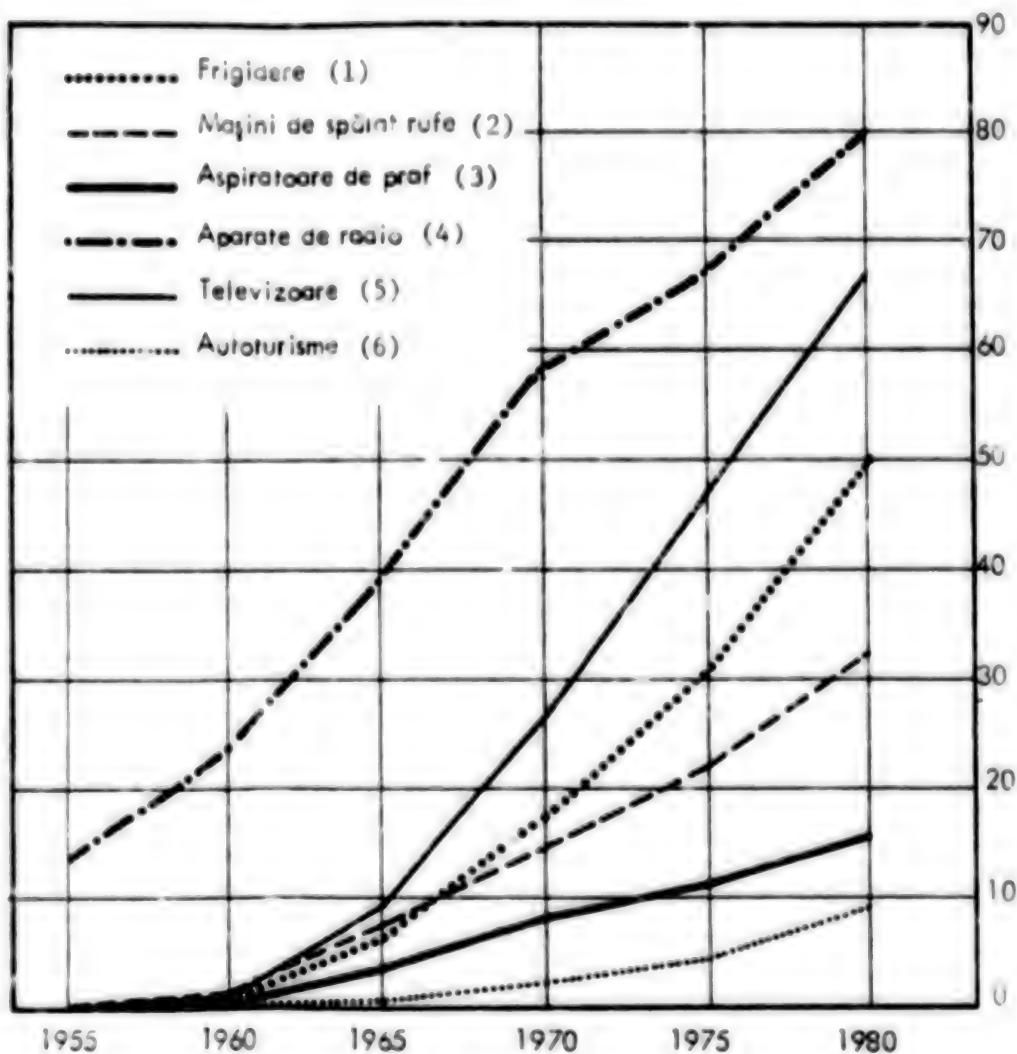
Chart No 1 also shows other positive trends in the population's consumption. It notes a significant increase of the percentage of non-food products and services in the total amount of consumption (including clothing, footwear and household goods). If we look at Chart No 2, we note a trend of permanent growth in the supply of households with durable goods, which creates ever better conditions for the families to enjoy their free time and to rest, to tour and to have recreation.

Broad Access to Education, Art and Culture

In our country, education at all levels is free, thus providing equal conditions for all young people, regardless of the material resources they may have, so they can continue their studies to the highest level, with the only selection criteria being the level of knowledge, qualities and desire for improvement. It is true that a higher professional training brings advantages to the entire society, but first of all it provides all the workers incomes in accordance with the results of their work, which, for its part, is directly related to each worker's training.

Chart No 2

The Evolution of Supplying Households with Durable Goods
(in items per 100 households)



Key:

1. Refrigerators
2. Clothes Washing Machines
3. Vacuum Cleaners
4. Radios
5. Televisions
6. Automobiles

In 1980, our state spent approximately 19 billion lei for education, culture and art. The cumulative cost for schooling supported by the state per student from primary education up to high school is over 17,000 lei, for a high school graduate it is over 33,000 lei, for a graduate of a professional school it is over 30,000 lei, while for a graduate of higher education it is nearly 78,000 lei.

The conscious participation with revolutionary elan and increased efficiency in the creation of a multilaterally developed socialist society requires an increased level of education and culture and a good general and specialized technical education, without which it is not possible to rationally use modern equipment on the job. Beginning with these truths, the Romanian Communist Party is carrying out an active policy to constantly develop the material base of educational and cultural institutions, to the degree of the development of the forces of production, in order to ensure the broad, unlimited access of all the people to education, culture and art. By developing and redirecting the school systems in order to better respond to the requirements of the economy for personnel qualified in different skills, jobs and specialties, and by gradually increasing the length of required general education and improving the indices of involving the young people in schools, we have reached the point where more than one-fourth of the population of the country is today involved in some form of education.

The consistent carrying out of the policy to develop education and train the workforce and to integrate education with production and research has contributed to the substantial growth of the "stock of education" and to the production of certain significant changes in the structure of the population according to its level of training. Compared to 1938, the number of young people enrolled in high school education has increased by approximately 20 times and those in higher education by 7.3 times, thus providing the qualified personnel necessary to the economy, science, culture and health services.

Through the successive extension of mandatory education, first to seven grades, then to eight and ten grades, and through the extension of the network of professional schools, specialized high schools, trade schools and training courses, we have reached the point of considerably raising the level of general and specialized technical training of the workers. As a result, in 1980 the number of qualified workers reached 4.9 million, representing approximately 84 percent of the total number of workers. Notable changes have also occurred with regards to the content and nature of the workers' technical-professional training, in the direction of moving from training the worker on-the-job to high forms of training - in professional schools, specialized high schools, post-high school training and trade schools.

The institutions of culture and art, the press, books and the mass media fully contribute to raising the cultural level and the level of training of the people, to cultivating artistic tastes, to understanding the works of art, traditions and folklore of our people, to satisfying spiritual requirements and to enriching

the political, ideological and professional knowledge of all categories of workers. Statistical data shows that on the average each year an inhabitant of our country sees nine movies (compared to only three in 1938; for each 1,000 inhabitants, 634 see different types of theater and musical institution presentations (compared to 102 in 1938), and 729 visit natural science, technical, history, ethnographical, memorial and art museums (compared to 56 in 1938); the number of subscriptions per 10,000 inhabitants is 1,444 for radios and 1,673 for television.

Constantly Better Conditions in Health, Social Assistance and Housing

One example of the care for people in our socialist society is the state's support (or that of cooperatist organizations) of certain costs directly tied to the people's living conditions. Free medical care is provided to all workers. In this manner, a difficult financial burden, brought about by unforeseen events, is taken from the shoulders of the worker and given to the social consumption fund.

Right from the first years of building socialism in Romania, the party and the state adopted a series of measures designed to permit broad access for the people to medical care. A powerful material base was created for health care, which is being developed and modernized from one year to the next. To this end, important monetary funds were allocated in the state budget, which, in 1980, totalled 14.2 billion lei, or 22 times greater than in 1950 and three times greater than in 1965. At the end of last year, health units had 208,200 beds for hospitalized medical care, compared to 33,800 in 1938 and 144,100 in 1965. Working at these units are 39,800 doctors, 6,500 pharmacists and 132,900 health care personnel. Currently, each doctor serves 558 inhabitants, compared to 1,895 in 1938.

Within the framework of health care service to the people, special attention has been given to mothers and children by increasing the number of spaces available in nurseries, beds and specialized units that give medical care to mothers and children. There has been improvements to the system providing assistance to mothers who care for a large number of children, up to age 18. Thus, for example, mothers who care for five or more children receive all their lives assistance of between 200 lei monthly (for five or six children) and 500 lei monthly (for to or more children), regardless of the amount of income they have. The amount of money allocated each month for children up to the age of 16 is between 90 and 320 lei, depending on the family's income, the number of children and their home. During last year, state allocations for children totalled 10.6 billion lei or 42 percent more than in 1975.

In our country, a system of social security was instituted which includes all the categories of people: workers, peasants on cooperatives, peasants with their own farms, cooperatist craftsmen and craftsmen with their own shops.

In 1980, the number of persons who benefitted from pensions or social assistance exceeded three million, of whom 1.6 million were retirees on social security and 1.2 million on pensions from the ranks of the agricultural production cooperatives. From the state budget alone, last year expenditures for social security, social assistance and pensions totalled 26.7 billion lei or 23 times greater than in 1950.

The systematic measures adopted to protect the health of the people, in the broader context of creating certain constantly better living and working conditions, caused the people's state of health to improve substantially in a relatively short period of time. An eloquent expression of the results obtained in this field is the growth of the average life expectancy from 42 years in 1932 to 63 years in 1956 and 70 years at the present. At the same time, a balance between the different age groups in the population was maintained. The percentage of the younger generation (up to age 15) in the total population last year represented approximately 27 percent, those in the group of 60 years old and older was 13.3 percent and the average age of the entire population was 33 years.

In order to satisfy the continually increasing demands of the people to enjoy their rest periods, vacations and free time in general, our state has expanded from year-to-year the material base of tourism, has developed the existing units and built new balneo-climatic stations. In just the last two decades the number of places at these stations increased by approximately three times. In 1980, 1,355,000 persons went to rest at balneo-climatic stations or approximately 11 times more than in 1950. The number of people that took balneary treatments last year was 790,000, increasing over ten times. There was an increase of over five times in the number of children who spent vacations at camps and colonies.

The continuing improvement in the people's living conditions represents a constant factor in the program to improve the standard of living, with the state allocating to this end a significant portion of the national economic-social development fund. During the period 1951-1980, housing construction investments totalled 222 billion lei, of which 55.1 percent was financed from the state fund and 44.9 percent from the people's funds. During this period, we built and turned over to the people approximately two million apartments in complex-type buildings, especially in municipalities and cities, equipped with modern appliances that provide an appropriate level of comfort for approximately 6.3 million persons. Housing construction was located in large urban developments which, because of their complex make-up (schools, gardens, nurseries, stores, movies, streets, mass transportation, parks and so forth), complete the general level of comfort.

Reported as part of the existing housing units in the entire country, the units built after 1950 represent over 63 percent, providing superior comfort conditions for approximately 15 million inhabitants in cities and villages or approximately two-thirds of the country's population.

The remarkable successes obtained in improving the well-being of the people are the fruits of the full labors of sacrifice of all our people who are directly following the policy of the Romanian Communist Party, and who are determined to ensure the fulfillment of the country's economic-social development plan during the period 1981-1985. The premises are thus created to carry out the provisions of the Program-Directive to raise the people's material and spiritual standard of living and to achieve a prosperous and happy life in our country.

8724
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ROMANIA

PARTICIPATION OF WORKING CLASS IN SOCIALIST SYSTEM REVIEWED

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 9, 5 May 81 pp 27-29

[Article by Gheorghe Paduret: "The Working Class in the Social Structure of Our Order"]

[Text] The 60th anniversary of the history and revolutionary struggle of the Romanian Communist Party is an occasion for a significant review of the profound changes that Romanian society has experienced during this historical period and especially during the years of the revolution and socialist construction. The analysis of these changes, the current stage of development and the future that is unfolding before our socialist society brings the historical role of the working class in completing the new order in Romania to the center of attention.

It has become ever more clear that in the stage we are now in important changes are taking place even in the area of the social forces that direct historical progress and in the reciprocal relations between the social classes that make up the structure of the new order. In this regard, our party starts, as comrade Nicolae Ceausescu stressed at the recent Trade Union Congress, with the process of transforming the working class "from the oppressed class not owning the means of production into the leading class of society, owner of the means of production, the producer and user, along with all the people, of everything that is produced in Romania, the owner of all national wealth." Under such a concept, the continued growth of the working class' leading role is reflected in the dialectical relationship between the improvement of the activities of the political and public institutions of socialist society and the permanent diversification of the workers' direct forms of participation in the decisionmaking process and the democratic affairs of the country.

The maintenance of social classes and groupings in the socialist order has profound objective and subjective causes that stem from the specific structure and functionality of a new society. Socialism is the historical solution to the capitalist contradictions in the economy, the social structure and the political and cultural realms, and whose solution requires, without a doubt, a correct historical evolution with distinct phases and stages which, from the beginning, do not include the total disappearance of classes. The existence of the social division of labor and the nature of the goods of production are precisely sources that generate differences in classes, even if these differences no longer have

an antagonistic nature. Similarly, it must be kept in mind that socialism has not been established in the heavily industrialized capitalist societies, but in underdeveloped or medium-developed capitalist countries, which directly influenced the problem of building a new order.

Under these conditions, new historical tasks appeared on a priority basis, such as industrialization, the expression of real political democracy, the elimination of underdevelopment and so forth, with all this making the process of fully homogenizing society even more complex. For that reason, speaking of the classes in our socialist society, we are thinking each time of the stage of previous social development with its specific historical peculiarities, from which the construction of socialism began.

Viewed overall, Romania's economy after the revolutionary act of nationalizing the principal means of production and the establishment of public property had an heterogeneous nature, being composed of typologically opposite production relationships since in addition to the socialist relationships there coexisted both capitalist relationships and those specific to small producers of goods based upon private ownership. Under these conditions, the social structure was, for its part, heteromorphous, being made up of classes and social categories corresponding to the given economic structure. Reflecting the backward state of our national economy, the structure of the employed population in 1950 was broken down as follows: 12 percent in industry, 74.1 percent in agriculture and 14 percent in other branches. The socialist transformation of the village and the entire evolution of Romanian society between the years of 1949 and 1962 were to generalize socialist production relations throughout the economy.

Our society is, today, composed of social classes and categories united by common fundamental interests and by essential identical characteristics generated by socialist economic, social-political and cultural relations. This unified social structure, resulting from the deep, revolutionary social changes that occurred during the stages we have passed through during the socialist revolution and construction, has had a direct effect upon the classes, the working class, the peasantry and the intellectuals, giving them new qualitative characteristics.

As a result of the changes in their defining characteristics, the working class effectively becomes under socialism a new social class, and the transformation of its economic position coincides with the transformation of its political situation from an oppressed and dominated class, with it becoming the principal social force of political leadership in society. Another characteristic of its transformation is the formation and uninterrupted development of socialist political awareness.

These new qualitative traits of the working class are also accompanied by substantial quantitative modifications brought about by the impetuous development of the forces of production in the process of industrialization, by the

modernization of the economy and technical-scientific progress, by changes in the domestic structure of the economic sectors (primary, secondary and tertiary) by branches and subbranches, and by the rational territorial distribution of the forces of production, as well as by raising the level of professional training and general culture of the workers.

The accelerated growth of the number of workers and, as a result, their percentage in the active employed population, as well as within the framework of the population in general, represents a defining process for the evolution of the new socialist social structure. The number of workers in relation to the number of employed people has evolved as follows between 1950 and 1978 (in thousands of persons):

	1950	1978	Percent
Employed People	8,377.2	10,290.0	123
Non-Agricultural Branches of the National Economy	1,222.9	5,585.1	457

In 1979, the percentage of workers in the total number of employed people was over 69 percent. In the future, the number of workers is estimated to be for 1985 at 8,150,000 to 8,450,000, approximately three-fourths of the total employed population. In 1990, the number is forecast to reach 11.5 million persons, with 9.5 million in industry and the other non-agrarian branches, or approximately 85 to 88 percent of the total active workforce.

As a result of the party's policy to harmoniously locate the forces of production throughout the entire country, in 1976 the national average was 243 workers, specialists and technicians per 1,000 inhabitants, while in 1990 the number of workers is to exceed 250 per 1,000 inhabitants in each county. Young people under the age of 35 make up the majority of the workers. Less satisfying is the structure of the workforce by sex, with the percentage of female workers representing merely 32 percent, of which: 38.1 percent in industry (but approximately 80 percent in light industry), 51 percent in telecommunications and 55.3 percent in commercial trade.

An especially positive fact for the general structure of the country's population is the presence of workers at a rate of two-thirds of the population in the 236 existing cities (compared to 148 cities in 1950) and one-third of the residents in the 2,570 currently existing towns (compared to 4,400 in 1950).

Finally, the analysis of the changes that have taken place in the structure of the working class must also keep in mind those of a spiritual nature and the level of its political-ideological training, professional training and

general culture. Currently, over four-fifths of the number of workers are skilled workers. There is a definite trend to increase the number of workers who have completed at least tenth grade or have completed high school, as well as those involved in jobs difficult skills: electronics specialists, electro-metallurgical specialists, computer programmers and so forth.

The principal directions for achieving a new quality in economic activities call for raising the technical level of products, rapidly updating production to keep up with the exigencies of world technological progress, increasing the efficiency of fixed assets, reducing production costs and increasing labor productivity at a more accentuated rate. As comrade Nicolae Ceausescu has emphasized, the thesis according to which socialism must be expressed through a labor productivity higher than that obtained under capitalism has not only a theoretical, principled importance, but also a practical, direct one: "Without achieving a labor productivity at the level of the developed countries, we will not be able to say that we have gone beyond the stage of a developing nation! Labor productivity is not a classroom problem, of general political economics taught in school, but a problem of life, so I would say, a vital requirement of the affirmation of the superiority of socialism itself," and of the victory of communism in the world.

In the process of socialist revolution, the other social classes and categories are also experiencing profound changes.

From a non-homogeneous and profoundly stratified class, the peasantry is being transformed into a new homogeneous class - the cooperatist peasantry. As a result of the socialist transformation of agriculture, it is becoming the social owner of the means of production, within the framework of a specific form of socialist ownership, that of a cooperatist-group. The peasantry is fulfilling an important role in socialist production, being, in addition to the working class, one of the principal social groups producing material goods. Similarly, it is characterized by a new political statute of co-participation in the political leadership of society.

Under the conditions of creating socialist property in agriculture, of industrializing the country, of technical-scientific progress and the intense modernization of the economy, and of developing education and culture, during the last three decades there has been a major restructuring in the life of the villages. This restructuring has to do with not only the standard of living, which has had a continuing improvement along with an increase in the level of professional training and the general culture of the peasantry, but also the decrease in its percentage in the total active population. Thus, between 1962 and 1978, the number of persons employed in agriculture has been reduced by half. It is forecast that by the end of the current decade the percentage of people employed in agriculture will fall from approximately 27 percent to 7 to 9 percent. This process will take place, certainly, under conditions of certain very important increases in agricultural production. Such a change in the structure of Romania's working population will coincide with the sustained development and modernization of agriculture.

In the spirit of the decisions of the 12th Congress regarding the accentuation of the growth of agriculture, one of the decisive branches for the production of raw materials for light industry and the food industry, a profound revolution will take place in agricultural production, both with regards to the technical-material base and the organization of this base. An important role in implementing this program will be played by increasing the amount of investments allocated to agriculture.

The transformation of the intelligentsia into a new social category, in relation to the situation under capitalism, generically has the same qualitative causes as in the cases of the proletariat and the peasantry. A non-homogeneous social grouping because of the nature of the fields in which it carries out its activities - the economy, education, health, art and science, the intelligentsia acquires under socialism essential new traits. It is, together with the workers and the cooperatist peasants, the collective owners of national wealth and a co-participant in the political leadership of society.

During the era of the contemporary scientific-technical revolution and over a long historical period, the intelligentsia represents the most dynamic social group. This evolutionary trend is relevantly demonstrated in the socialist development of our country. For the overall economy, the number of persons with higher education increased from 158,000 in 1958 to 478,000 in 1976, and, if the current rate of training in higher education is maintained, the number of workers with higher education will be approximately 870,000 to 880,000 in 1990. Within the framework of the employed population, the intelligentsia represented four percent in 1960, six percent in 1976 and could reach nine percent in 1990.

It is fitting to also mention the other social categories in the structure of our society, such as: the administrative and service personnel, the small cooperativized craftsmen, the special craftsmen and free-professionals who live off their own work, and the peasants who have private farms in the mountainous and hilly regions.

The functional nature of the new social structure in our country is derived from the specific interests and human needs satisfied by this structure. We have in mind here the cooperation and mutual assistance objectively generated by socialist property and by the distribution and exchange of its adequate activities.

The working class, the cooperatist peasantry and the intelligentsia are not simple co-owners of public wealth. The means of work, the goods and so forth could not be what they are beyond the combined work of all the classes and social groupings in our country. As a result, as producers of the common wealth, none of the classes of socialist society is to a greater or lesser degree an owner compared to the others. Socialist property does not involve a subordinate relationship between coparticipants. Since none of the classes can satisfy its own cultural, economic and social-political interests except by common effort, their unity and cohesion become a fundamental factor in the operation and historical progress under socialism.

It is without a doubt that through this convergence of the basic interests of the classes and social categories it is not possible to understand the disappearance of all the particular traits that separate them and which objectively represent the premises of certain relationships of opposition or annoyance between them. We are speaking not only of the difference in the degree of socialization between the two forms of socialist property having the working class and the cooperatist peasantry as social exponents, but especially of the gap between their different levels of labor productivity, economic efficiency and incomes. At the same time, it should be pointed out through a multidisciplined analysis the different role of the diverse social groups in creating the material and spiritual wealth, their levels of organization and awareness, and the different abilities to grasp the requirements of social development that are inherent for the current stage of evolution of our economy, as well as the entire society. If the task of building a new order, in all the variations of its manifestations, confirms the gradual disappearance of the objective sources of opposition interests and class antagonisms (not, however, the disappearance of the subjective ones - distortion of democracy, voluntarism, subjectivism and so forth), precisely practical experience proves that the socialist type of historical progress requires the carrying out of a conscious social consensus on the part of all the participants in social-economic activities.

The working class is the consistent spokesperson for the interests of the overwhelming majority of the members of society in capitalism and, effectively, of all society after the disestablishment of the exploiting classes. Through this it is, as Marx emphasized, the first class in history that does not have a special interest in maintaining its class conditions, but, on the contrary, is interested in their general elimination, working to acquire those conditions indispensable for the multilateral and free development of each person.

The leading role of the working class has nothing in common with the position of one class dominating others since the common property that it created excludes any privilege or supremacy. More than that, leadership by the working class is combined with the growing affirmation of the other classes and each worker, without any discrimination, in economic and political affairs. The role it has to fulfill in the socialist revolution and construction is determined, first of all, by the fact that in socialism the classes do not disappear, which, although they are not antagonistic, continue to exist up until communism. Only then will society no longer be divided into classes as a result of the revolutionary transformation of the forces of production and all social life. Second, the achievement of such radical changes in society can be obtained on the basis of the social consensus provided by the political-ideological activities of the working class and its revolutionary party. The ability of socialism, which is historically limited in its diverse stages, to satisfy the interests of the existing classes and social groupings calls for the conscious harmonization of these interests. Third, the growth of the leading role of the working class

is determined by the achievement in a historical short period of time of a high level of economic development with the broad processes of social mobility that are implicated and of moving certain large numbers of people from the rural environment to the urban one (a process with general-social consequences that are not to be neglected) and by the solution of certain difficulties and inevitable shortcomings for a relatively young society that is readjusting the entire level of civilization and culture using its own resources.

The working class' fulfillment of its historic role as the principal social force of progress is exercised on a priority basis through the intermediary of political institutions - the revolutionary party and the socialist state. Moreover, just as in all societies with a class social structure the overall leadership of society has a political nature. In this context, the role of the Romanian Communist Party is clear, as the revolutionary party of the working class whose historical mission is to ensure the achievement of the leading role of the working class in society and to directly carry out the "program to create a new society - the socialist and communist society in Romania. Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu emphasizes: "As the most advanced part of the working class, the party leads not just in name, but together with the working class and all the people." Under such conditions, the leading role of the party in society and its power and prestige are precisely in a position to join around it all workers and all the people into order to carry out its strategic line and program to create a multilaterally developed socialist society and advance our country towards communism.

Under the conditions where the workers today carry all the responsibility for the efficient administration of those portions of the national wealth entrusted to them, in practice there effectively is not only a qualitatively superior framework for the operation of the democratic mechanisms, but also, for the first time in history, the conditions for the conscious participation of all the people in the management of society.

As shown by the analysis of the transformations in the social structure of our society, the realm of class relations is neither simple nor secondary in the overall new society. If through the intermediary of class relations the economy determines the typology of the other social relations, the activity of the classes is not the passive effect of their economic conditioning. On the contrary, the variety of their forms of objectivity is reflected upon the relations of socialist production and substantially influences them.

The operation of the socialist social structure on the field of convergence of fundamental interests means, on the broader plane of contemporary history, the inauguration of the future process of the disappearance of classes, a process closely tied to the affirmation of the leading social role of the working class is a factor uniting the people. In this regard, it can be said that the history of the six decades that have passed since May 1921 clearly confirms

the justice of the policies and activities consistently promoted by the communist party to create the unity of the working class in our country. As a political exponent of this process, the party did not spare any effort or sacrifice to ensure the unity of the working class, unity that has proven to be an endless source of power that has allowed it to be victorious in the revolutionary struggle.

The experience of concretely resolving in practice the problems of creating worker unity is clearly recorded as an historical contribution of our party to enriching the theoretical and practical treasury of the communist and international workers movement and, at the same time, as a convincing argument in demonstrating the importance of this unity that is necessary to the revolutionary struggle. Continually developed during the years of socialism, the unity of the working class around the Romanian Communist Party has become the indestructible basis of the unity of all the people in the dedicated effort to create a multilaterally developed socialist society and advance the country towards communism.

8724
CSO: 2700

YUGOSLAVIA

STORIES OF SERB DEPARTEES FROM KOSOVO RECOUNTED

Belgrade ILUSTROVANA POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian No 1181, 23 Jun 81 pp 24-26

[Article by Bogosav Marjanovic: "Thirsting for Peace"]

[Text] Most of the former people from Kosovo were seen off with the ironic advice to go "back to their own Serbia," and when they arrived, they were met by exorbitant land prices and opstina services unable to deal with the troubles even of "their own" inhabitants.

Kraljevo, June. In a recent session of the Assembly of SR [Socialist Republic] Serbia the delegate Dragan Cirovic, for many years a political official and president of the Kraljevo Interopstina Regional Community, spoke about the troubles of approximately 2,000 families of people who had moved from Kosovo into this region and also about the continuing demand of the new settlers for lots and houses.

We have come to see and hear this on the spot. We thus learned that the troubles are two-sided: The problem with municipal services is aggravated, unanticipated crowding is taking place in the schools, in health institutions and especially in front of the windows of employment security bureaus. Inspectors are confronted by increasingly widespread construction without permits. Land prices are rising higher and higher every day, since the purchasers from Kosovo usually have no desire to haggle....

To Avoid an Accident ...

Entire new settlements of Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo have sprung up in the vicinity of Kraljevo and Mataruska Banja: Ribnica, Kovaci, Konarevo, and it is well known that there are also such settlements in the vicinity of Krusevac, Trnjacka Banja, Obrenovac and Smederevo. All 26 lots offered at the recent congress by the self-managed community of interest for development of municipal land in Gornji Milanovac were purchased by people from Kosovo, since they offered the highest price.

Ljubomir Trajkovic from the village of Sljivavica near Vucitrn settled on the outskirts of Mataruska Banja 8 years ago.

"Whatever house you go to here," he says, "they are all new settlers from Kosovo. There are hundreds of us here around Kraljevo. And it seems to me that there will be more of us. It is true what our delegate Cirovic said in the Serbian Assembly. Every day our countrymen are coming from Kosovo, from the vicinity of Kosovska Mitrovica, Pristina, Gnjilane, Prizren and Orahovac.... They want to buy a lot or a house. They have certificates to the effect that they are moving voluntarily. If you say that someone forced you, then an inquiry is initiated. And if it is proven, that person might even be punished. They have now introduced these written statements, after the disorders, and without them you cannot move out and officially report your departure. But that wasn't the case when I and my neighbors moved. Go where you like, they can hardly wait. In my village there were 30 Serbian families. The entire village was Serbian. Now there is not a single one, they have all moved away. And our houses and farms were bought up by Albanians."

"And why did you have to move?" we asked Ljubomir.

"Well, why. To be sure, no one forced us. But you sow corn, and someone else's livestock grazes on it. You put out your livestock in the field, and it disappears. Someone cuts your woodlot as though it was his own. So, how can you live with such neighbors? Better to get out of the way, so that there is no accident. And I sold my farm for a song: 2 houses, 16 hectares of forest, every tree as thick and straight as this lamp post. Three hectares of plowland, an orchard that was like gold.... All of that for 29 million old dinars. And I paid 25 million for just this little house, old dinars, of course."

Our host kindly offered preserves, coffee and brandy which his spouse brought to the table. And then he went on.

"The trouble is that they blackmail us both there and here. If an Albanian is interested in buying your farm, no other will even ask if you are selling it, not on his life. And when there is no competition, then it is not a true price. So we sell our farms because they want them. And even here, again they are blackmailing us. When they see that we are in trouble, they hike up the prices of land and dilapidated old houses...."

"Some Cried"

In Ljubomir Trajkovic's neighborhood we became acquainted with a couple with two children who moved here from Pristina immediately after the most recent demonstrations. They asked us not to mention their names. They still have not obtained that certificate, they have not yet officially changed their place of residence. They made the decision to move on the spur of the moment. They packed up their suitcases and came here, though they were born there and have family there. Up to that point, they say, they lived in harmony and amity with the Albanians, their neighbors and their workfellows. Both have university education. He had a good job in the Assembly of SAP [Socialist Autonomous Province] Kosovo. She also had a good job at the School of Medicine in Pristina and then in a large and very reputable enterprise.

"To be sure," the husband relates, "I had been involved in negotiations to come back to Mataruska Banja to work even before those unfortunate events. But I changed my mind. My wife would not hear of it. Both she and her parents were born in Pristina. She had ties to that city and to Kosovo. And even I, that is my homeland...."

The wife continued:

"Yes, I never thought I would be able to leave my native region.... But, after that 'marriage' something snapped and broke inside me. I told my husband: We're going!"

They packed up suitcases, took their little children by the hand and came here. Here they were met with open arms, since specialists of this kind are urgently needed. The wife rented out the father's old house to an Albanian for 100,000 old dinars a month. And they also gave the fully equipped apartment they had to an Albanian. They are here temporarily. They have rented a two-room apartment for 300,000 old dinars per month.

"To be sure," the wife says, "they tried to keep us from going. But there is no longer any return, since this is the only way for us to live in peace. We will go only to visit our relatives and friends. We have quite a few even among the Albanians. They are honorable and honest people. When we set off, they were unable to look us in the eye. Some cried."

The Other Side of the Mirror

"It is not the people's fault," the husband interrupted, "it is the fault of the leaders, both Albanians and Serbs.... Now they keep silent! Which as a matter of fact is what they have done up to now. They are holding on to their positions. But they are calling upon the workers to take sides. Still another ugly new expression which now has recently entered our political vocabulary. Only now it is late to write about the exodus of Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo. This should have been spoken about openly much earlier. It is true that there was talk even then, but no one believed those people, neither you people in Belgrade, nor even we in Kosovo. Some people made fun, saying: 'A resettlement of ours under Mahmut Bakalli!' Others said that this was Serb nationalism. That they were moving to get rich and the like...."

— left the outskirts of Mataruska Banja and went to the Kraljevo settlement of Kovaci. More than half of the 400 new houses belong to new settlers from Kosovo. We knocked on a door at random. The man of the house, Arsenije Petrovic, moved here with his family from Vitina, near Gnjilane, in 1972. He sold some land for a song, some he has not yet sold. It is sitting there unsold in a village along the Binicka Morava. The Albanians in the village are cultivating it without authorization, as though it were theirs. The man of the house told us:

"When I took one to court for sowing wheat in my field, the court in Vitina concluded the case for 4 months. Just enough," the subject of our interview sighed with pain, "for the wheat to ripen and my neighbor to harvest it. When that was over, I sold him the field since he wanted it."

We asked him whether it was true that Serbs and Montenegrins had come here after the disorders in Kosovo and had asked to buy land or a house?

"I guess so, every day! Here recently my brother in Vitina, brothers-in-law and daughters in Prizren have written for me to buy lots here somewhere. They also want to move. They have told me in a letter: 'You did the right thing, you left in time. As if you knew what was going to happen!'"

Arsenije's neighbor Predrag Stojanovic, who came here from Prizren in 1975, met us with a sigh:

"Ah, my comrades, you came late to Kosovo. You were late in thinking to write about the exodus. I lived and worked over the entire province in harmony and amity with both Albanians and Serbs, as well as with Turks and Montenegrins. Up until the seventies. And then it was as though some devil had got into the Albanians. I watched them washing up and combing their hair after work on the construction site. Up until that time most of them had Tito's picture on the back of their mirror. All of a sudden nearly all had been replaced by Skender Bug's picture. I asked: 'Friends, what is this?' 'Ah, this is our god,' they answered me spitefully and proudly. 'Come now, some god, he's a billy goat,' I retorted. And then one of them angrily drew up to me and asked me threateningly: 'So, yes, that's why you've been constantly swearing against billy goats....' And so actually I never used that expression again which had been a kind of joke in it of mine. It's horrible when you have to think of every word, even one that's completely harmless...."

Predrag Stojanovic paused in his account, drew on his cigarette, shook his head, and continued:

"What can you do when the authorities approved all that? The leaders were holding on to their positions. They are holding them even today.... Believe me, I am no chauvinist, I like people regardless of their nationality and religion, but what is happening in Kosovo I cannot accept. They say that we left out of anger. Out of Serbian nationalism. But if that's the case, why then did so many Turks move out of Kosovo? And so many Gypsies became Albanians, and why? Why, they had to, to get a job more easily.... Some of our Albanians want to go to Albania. Well, let those who want to go. I wouldn't stand in their way. Let the honest Albanians remain. They are in the majority. I would live with them on a desert island.... You don't know, my comrades, how fine it was in Prizren. It is one of the most beautiful cities in our beautiful country."

Fugitives and Spies

A bit farther on are the new houses of Djosic, Radenovic, and Cvetkovic, also newcomers from Kosovo who came from the Vitina area near Enjilane. We also visited the home of Milos Radenovic, an elderly and good-natured retired teacher. He apologized for his wife not being there at the time, to receive us properly, but he said that he would fix coffee for us. When he heard why we had come, he said reproachfully:

"Too late! It is too late for you to become interested in the destiny of the Serbs in Kosovo.... I fled from there.... Yes, you can write it that way: I fled in 1968. I could no longer take the humiliation and insults. They openly told me: 'There's no place for you here, go back to your own Serbia....' But I had lived there for 43 years, bringing up and teaching their children, in their native language as a matter of fact, since I speak Albanian quite well. Both before the war and after the war. I taught them to be good and honest men. That is what most of them are. But there are also degenerates, as in any people. When I thought of spending my retirement, the rest of my life, in peace, in my own Vitina, among my former pupils, monsters appeared. They committed daily attacks on me, on my family, on my property and my livestock. They told me openly: 'Go to Serbia.' I complained to the chief of police in Vitina, but he shrugged his shoulders and said: 'There is nothing I can do. Better to sell your property and go away.' When I saw that no one would protect me, there was nothing I could do but to sell my land and house for a song and to move here...."

The elderly teacher paused for a moment, and then he laughed bitterly:

"Do you know who bought my property and property of Milan and Marisav Josic, Milosav and Radovan Radenovic and Miodrag Cvetkovic, who are my neighbors here and were my neighbors there? The Secretariat for Internal Affairs. The provincial secretariat for internal affairs in Pristina ... for those who fled from Albania. They gave them all our property there entirely without charge, they also bought them complete furnishings and machines to cultivate the land. And they gave them salaries.... They said that they did not agree with the regime in Albania, so they fled in this direction to Kosovo. But you tell me how these emigres could have fled unhindered with their families, each of them between 10 and 15 members, with herds numbering even 100 or 200 sheep and 10 or more horses, in this direction to Kosovo, when the borders on the side of our country are ringed with barbed wire and pillboxes? Perhaps they were escorted to the border by Enver's policemen belonging to the notorious Sigurimi? Aren't there spies among them who are now sponsoring this misfortune of the Albanian, Serb and Montenegrin people in Kosovo?"

The elderly teacher is excited and offended:

"I have many friends among the Albanians. The bones of my parents also lie in Kosovo. I left behind me there the best years of my life, and I thought that my grave would also be there. But I tell you I had to flee. And here, though I am in Serbia, I am utterly lost. I am a man who has lost his native land...."

For a moment the elderly teacher's eyes became moist, and then new strength and anger gushed forth:

"Is it not a scandal that we are impo ing from Albania intelligence and culture when we have so many of our own intelligent people among the Albanians and Serbs? Write it down! I will not remain silent like the leaders, I will not close my eyes to the truth. I have nothing to lose. I have already lost everything..."

"Mercedes" or Bicycle

We are again in Mataruska Banja. Two men are sitting in a yard full of roses beneath a flowering Linden tree, alongside a fine new house and sipping brandy and snacking on tomato salad. They are speaking Albanian. We enter the yard and introduce ourselves. The host introduced himself: Marko Dimitrijevic. He also introduced us to his guest. He is Alija Titolaj, originally from Ljubizda near Prizren, on the Yugoslav-Albanian border. He tells us that he has a bakery here in Mataruska Banja.

The host Marko Dimitrijevic is also from Kosovo, from Lipljan near Pristina. He arrived here with his family in 1971. He was an office worker and a sociopolitical worker in Lipljan Opstina. He has seven children. He was altogether unable to find them work there. He says:

"I even wrote the Mahmut Bakali. I asked him to help me find jobs for at least two children. He replied that I should see about it with the opstina...."

"In the opstina they told me: 'Marko, there's no point. We cannot find a job for even one of your children. The position is that one Serb can be hired for every seven Albanians and that he must know Albanian....'"

"Somehow, by the barest chance, they did find a job for one son in the Coca-Cola factory in Lipljan."

He took the others by the hand and brought them here to Mataruska Banja and found jobs for them. Some in Kraljevo, some in Belgrade and Ljubljana. Recently he was in Lipljan visiting his son. The baker Alija Titolaj had heard that and had come to visit and to find out what was happening in Kosovo. Marko speaks Albanian well, but Alija does not know Serbo-Croatian well. We asked Alija whether his insufficient knowledge of Serbo-Croatian hindered him from opening a bakery here in Mataruska Banja:

"Oh, no," he said.

He had worked previously in Croatia, in Koprivnica, but there was less and less work there. He could not compete with the baking industry and 3 months before he had come here to Mataruska Banja. He immediately obtained a store and opened a shop.

"My business is going well. But after this that has happened in Kosovo I don't dare look my customers in the eye. I am ashamed, though I know I am not at all to blame. I am ashamed because of what some of my countrymen have done in Kosovo...."

Alija has three brothers and a family of 18 in the village of Ljubizda. His talk is such that the host Marko has to help out as a translator:

"All of us in my village, together with the border control, kept watch during the Cominform trouble to keep that evil from Albania from penetrating Kosovo.

And we were successful. But they are not doing anything to stop this.... It's a shame and a pity! We peasants are not in favor of that. Certain scholars, they say, want to go to Albania. Well, let them go! The devil take them! Just so they don't sow bad blood among us. But they lie: They say they don't want to go there. Who in Pristina and in Kosovo would leave a 'Mercedes' to go to Albania to ride a bicycle? I sent my son who works with me here home to the village to tell the peasants not to listen to those instigators. Come on, here's to your health!" Alija said in conclusion.

We clinked glasses of a good grappa from Kosovo.

7045

CSO: 2800/287

ISLAMIC ASSEMBLY CONDEMNS NATIONALISM IN KOSOVO

[Editorial Report] The 15 June 1981 issue of PREPOROD, organ of the Association of Islamic Elders of Bosnia-Hercegovina, Croatia, and Slovenia, on pages 1 to 8, reports on the meeting of the supreme assembly of the Islamic Community in Yugoslavia held on 10 June 1981 in Belgrade. Ismail Haki, president of the assembly and president of the Community of Islamic Elders of Serbia, said, "The recent hostile actions in Kosovo have deeply disturbed the Islamic community, because nationalist and irredentist actions by reactionary forces have brought into question the integrity and constitutional order of our country, as well as all that has been achieved in post-war socialist development. All organs of the Islamic community in Kosovo have sharply condemned the hostile and counter-revolutionary demonstrations."

Jakub Selimovski, the newly elected president of the Community of Islamic Elders in the Republic of Macedonia, said: "The Islamic community in the last several months has been following attentively the situation in our brother-province of Kosovo, firmly convinced of the need for the Islamic community to protect its officials and believers from the hardened enemy of the community in Macedonia and in the SFRY, and, as it has many times up to now, states loudly and publicly that the community cannot be an area for enemy action against our self-management socialist system. Nationalism and irredentism must not and cannot make their nest in our ranks because they are opposed to the Islamic community policy which has been declared and carried into practice for centuries. They are opposed to the interests of the Islamic community as a religious community, and stand in opposition to the basic Islamic sources, the Koran and Sunnet, and because everything our believers, members of the Islamic community, have achieved in the social, national, and religious field, they have achieved in Tito's Yugoslavia.

"Because of all this we have an even greater obligation to increase our efforts in the coming period to strengthen the brotherhood between the Macedonian people and the Albanian and Turkish nationalities so that it becomes still stronger."

CSO: 2800/301

CATHOLIC PAPER EDITOR NOTES 'SLANDER' IN 'SEDAM DANA'

[Editorial Report] In the 12 July 1981 issue of GLAS "ONCILA (Zagreb) its editor-in-chief Zivko Kustic inserted a brief statement on page two which says: "I have read attentively the article published in VJESNIK's Saturday supplement SEDAM DANA of 4 July.... I do not reply to slander since one defends oneself in vain from untruths of this kind. The article asserts, namely, that I think, speak, and write things which I have never thought, said, or written, and then accuses me for these thoughts attributed to me. If anyone wants to test the truthfulness of the accusation that I equate Croatianism with Catholicism, he can take the trouble to read at least my article on page 10 of the second edition of the booklet "A Small Key to the History of the Church Among the Croatians" (published by GLAS KONCILA). I also want to warn the public that my speech given in Hansen near Frankfurt on 16 June 1974 was not written down, I retained no notes of it, nor did any church people or any people known to me in general tape it. I was astonished to see in VJESNIK the text of this--obtained from where I do not know and never authorized by me."

CSO: 2800/303

YUGOSLAVIA

MARKO VESELICA'S 'CONTACTS WITH THE WEST' CITED

Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 27 Jun 81 SEDAM DANA Supplement p 18

[Article by Djordje Licina: "Veselica's Secret Contact"]

[Text] The name of Dr Marko Veselica, an exponent of nationalism whose trial is about to resume in the Zagreb District Court, has recently been a topic of interest and concern on various occasions for certain circles abroad which are well known to us. It has been used in the usual way by fascist demonstrators in anti-Yugoslav provocations in Stockholm, it has also been mentioned by certain Ustasha periodicals concerned about his fate, and various "commissions" have declared that they are "on duty" to protect human rights and civil liberties in Yugoslavia.

All in all, a very motley company has found itself on the same side in openly supporting Veselica's obvious intention -- first by a partial refusal to eat and then by transparent games concerning his defense counsel -- to prolong the trial as much as possible and even possibly to convey to the public the idea that the court actually has no evidence whatsoever against him.

Veselica found himself in the defendant's box because of several crimes against the foundations of the social system of socialist self-management and security of the SFRY: he has been charged with hostile propaganda, with arousing ethnic enmity, discord and intolerance and with establishing relations with representatives of Ustasha emigre terrorist organizations abroad. These are very grave charges, especially the third one, which actually does most to indicate the dimensions of Marko Veselica's hostile activity and real intent.

Nationalistic Arguments

There is no doubt whatsoever that from 15 to 19 September of last year Veselica gave a written interview to Hans Joachim Bornemann, a West German newsman who visited him in Zagreb. Veselica did in fact admit this during the investigatory proceeding, but he denied having made in the interview false and untruthful assertions about the political, economic and cultural status of SR [Socialist Republic] Croatia in the SFRY and having aroused ethnic enmity and discord in Yugoslavia by his statements. He judged his interview to be covered by the right to expression of the freedom of thought and commitment, saying that he presented convictions he had arrived at on the basis of his own work and his own experience.

However, Veselica's convictions and commitments are very indicative: the arguments which he presents in the interview are actually very familiar reverberations of his nationalistic statements in 1971, in which even at that time he falsely asserted

that Great Serbian supremacy exists in the SFRY and has systematically oppressed and persecuted the Croatian people and also that SR Croatia is being flagrantly exploited by the other republics and provinces. In his written response to Borne-mann's questions Veselica explained very illustratively the "results" of that research of his: "If Montenegro, then, is to be able to catch up with SR Croatia and the other advanced parts, it must exploit the Croatian economy in a horrifying way, and at the same time it has no moral nor economic incentive whatsoever to carry on its economic activity in an optimum way...."

In the part of the interview which concerns the 1971 events Veselica again advances his well-known nationalistic arguments in which he asserts that the Croatian people "doesn't have even a gram of national rights, since as of 1 December 1971 it was placed under permanent police and other repression," since "it is in a state of passive resistance and passive suspense as to what will happen after the death of Josip Broz Tito...."

His evil intentions and untruths are also manifested in that part of the interview where he asserts that the entire Croatian people is equated with Fascists and criminals and that it is being subjected to unprecedented terror. "The persecution of innocent Croats in Croatia is still going on, since new political trials are constantly being launched in which the State Security Service uses the most drastic methods during the investigation in order to extort those confessions which suit a portion of the repressive, reactionary forces of the regime.... A sizable portion of the Croats have denied their national feeling and allegiance out of fear or to serve their careers, and they have thus helped to aggravate relations among the nationalities instead of advancing them and making them more harmonious. The unitarists and centralists and proponents of Serbian hegemony have proclaimed this endeavor of ours Ustashist, which is a monstrous falsification which leads nowhere...."

The entire text of the interview and Veselica's biography were published in West Germany as a pamphlet entitled *Die Todkrankheit des Jugoslawiens -- Die Kroatische Frage* by Karl-Heinz Aldag (Hamburg, 1980), and a review and excerpts of this interview were published in the periodical *OST-DIENST*, No 43, November 1980, which is published by Hans Peter Rullman, agent of a foreign intelligence service. In addition the original text of the interview and the biography were sent to the editors of *HRVATSKI LIST*, the monthly of the Ustasha terrorist organization, where they were published in their entirety, and excerpts were published in the organs of *Ustasha emigré* terrorist organizations *PORUKA SLOBODNE HRVATSKE*, *HRVATSKI LIST* and *NOVA HRVATSKA*.

The very fact that Peter Rullman had a certain role to play in this entire game indicates clearly enough the real background of Veselica's intentions. It is well known, that is, that Rullman has recently been in contact with members of the Ustasha terrorist organization and has even received material resources from them for certain of his propaganda pamphlets in which he slings mud at Yugoslavia and its leadership. We will recall only that in 1971 Rullman was convicted of espionage in the military court in Belgrade and sentenced to six years of strict imprisonment.

Tieup With the Ustasha Emigré Community

Veselica himself, according to the charge, was tied up with representatives of Ustasha emigré terrorist organizations abroad. That is, at the time when an investigation was being conducted against him for the crime of hostile propaganda, at the border near Sventilj the authorities arrested Veselica's messenger, who was carrying abroad messages and propaganda material intended for the Ustasha fascist emigrés Mirko Vidovic, Tihomil Radja and Jaksa Kusan. This occurred on 9 March of this year, and five written reports intended *inter alia* for representatives of non-governmental international institutions which have been infiltrated by foreign intelligence services were also found on the messenger. In those messages Veselica falsely portrayed political conditions and the position of the Croatian people in the SFRY, but he also issued guidelines for hostile activity of Ustasha emigré terrorist organizations abroad.

In a secret report entitled "A New Cycle of Persecutions of the Democratic Forces in Croatia," which was sent to the editor of the Ustasha periodical NOVA HRVATSKA, to Jaksa Kusan, to Tihomil Radja, to Ulrich Kaegi, and to the institution Ost Europa Buch Veselica conveys this message: "Since the liquidation of the Croatian democratic spring of 1971-1972 Yugoslavia has returned step by step to pure Stalinism, to the original manner that is inherent in it. The entire process of democratization, which was initiated after the conflict with Soviet-Communist hegemonism and imperialism, was entirely and forcibly cut off on 1 December 1971 at Karadjordjevo, Serbia, which was followed by large-scale repression in Croatia and also by a milder neutralization of all the democratic and liberal forces in the other ethnic communities and republics.... Solely because of the struggle for power did Josip Broz Tito, when he felt that his power was threatened, come into conflict with Aleksandar Rankovic, and not at all because he was a democratic Communist and socialist and the bearer of some communism acceptable to the nationalities of Yugoslavia. Nor did his conflict with Stalin arise out of fundamental differences between the two of them in moral and political philosophies and principles of governmental and social organization, but exclusively out of personal lust for power to rule within the same basic framework of strategies and management techniques...."

In issuing guidelines for hostile activity of the Ustasha terrorist organizations, Veselica conveys this message in a letter to Mirko Vidovic and Tihomil Radja: "To try to organize groups of intellectuals and public figures in various countries such as France, England, Germany, Switzerland and elsewhere, to which letters of protest and appeals to their own respective governments and to our government to halt the persecution in Croatia because of conviction could be sent. Just as was the case a few days ago with the German newsmen and intellectuals of the journal PRAXIS who sent an open letter to the president of the Serbian Assembly. If all of this together doesn't work and doesn't arouse world public opinion, there could be large-scale persecution and grave consequences for the fate of Croatia."

The guidelines for the hostile effort also went in the opposite direction. Veselica's contact met in Berne with the Ustasha emigré Tihomil Radja. During that meeting in October 1980 Radja delivered for Veselica the guidelines of the Ustasha emigré organization under the code name "Jack London," which calls for the accused to deliver to the Ustasha emigré organization as soon as possible all documentation on the persecution, on the economic situation in the SFRY and on how it was affecting the Croatian economy with specific examples, data on the domination of the

Serbs with specific data concerning Croatia, as well as a directive that Veselica and those of like mind "establish cooperation with the dissidents in Belgrade," first of all with Milovan Djilas, but also with other public and cultural figures and newsmen who are prepared to become part of a campaign to seek amnesty for political offenders. On that occasion Radja also called upon Veselica to deliver to the emigré organization a proclamation with specific proposals as to what he and those of like mind were seeking from the emigré community. Aside from meeting with Tihomil Radja at the railroad station in Berne, upon his arrival in Switzerland Veselica's messenger also made regular telephone calls to the Ustasha emigrés Mirko Vidovic and Jaksa Kusan.

Radja, Vidovic and Kusan are well-known organizers of hostile terrorist and propaganda actions against Yugoslavia. All three have been abroad for years, and it is no secret that they have ties to certain foreign intelligence services. Radja was a member of the Ustasha movement as early as 1942, and after the war he was convicted of espionage and sentenced to ten years in prison. He was amnestied after seven years, and in 1955 he fled abroad illegally, where he resumed his hostile activity. Jaksa Kusan also left Yugoslavia that same year, and in 1957 became the editor-in-chief and responsible editor of the Ustasha periodical NOVA HRVATSKA, which is published in London.

The fact that Veselica was in communication with the Ustasha emigres Radja, Vidovic and Kusan speaks most eloquently about how the accused perceives his rights to expression of the freedom of thought and commitment and what he means to imply with the democratic statements he refers to so often.

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